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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

## INFORMATION REPORT

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THE SOURCE EVALUATIONS IN THIS REPORT ARE DEFINITIVE.  
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1. In regard to the control which the USSR exercises over Poland, two seemingly contradictory statements [redacted]

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a. [redacted] the main communications link between the CPSU (Communist Party of the USSR) and the PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party) is the Soviet Ambassador in Warsaw.

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b. [redacted] the activity of the Communist regime in Poland is controlled and directed by Moscow through the Polish Ambassador to the USSR who receives all orders, directives, and instructions on policy matters and high-level affairs.

2. These statements refer to two different subjects. The first statement refers to Party politics whereas the second statement refers to the Government. The PZPR is directly controlled by the CPSU, and the Soviet Ambassador in Poland serves as the communication link. Important policy matters, however, are handled directly by BIERUT who travels to Moscow in such cases.

3. Soviet control of the Polish Government, in all routine matters, is exercised through the Polish Ambassador in Moscow and the diplomatic pouch. This is not so in all cases, however. At times the Soviet Ambassador in Warsaw acts as the communication link. However, the important Government matters are again handled directly by BIERUT or BERMAN or MINC at periodic conferences in Moscow.

4. All important Polish political and economic matters concerning Soviet internal and external policies are handled by the conferences in Moscow, attended by BIERUT, and/or BERMAN or MINC. During STALIN's rule these conferences were called "Consultation with the landlord" (Zasiegniecie rady u gospodarza).

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Under MALENKOV's collective leadership system the phrase was changed to "Consultation on the highest level" (Zasiegniecie rady na najwyzszym szczeblu). The following problems were handled in this manner: GOMULKA and Gomulkaism, which required several trips to Moscow; Polish renunciation of reparation payments from East Germany; Polish economic plans.

5. At times the initiative does not originate with Moscow but with BIERUT. This is known as "Consultation with friends" (Konsultacja z przyjaciolmi). When the new Polish Constitution was being prepared, BIERUT wanted to pattern it according to the Stalin Constitution of the Soviet Union. STALIN "advised" BIERUT against it, stating that the time had not yet come. BIERUT also wanted to change the Polish national anthem and the colors of the Polish flag. In regard to the anthem, STALIN asked BIERUT, "And is the DABROWSKI mazurka such a bad tune?" The third matter which was settled between BIERUT and STALIN was the question of the regime's attitude toward the church and the neutralization of more energetic independent church leaders.
6. Some of the factors which determine the manner in which the orders are to be transmitted are the following:
  - a. The relative political reliability of the Soviet Ambassador in Poland and the Polish Ambassador in Moscow.
  - b. In which country the particular matter will be publicized.
  - c. Which country will be given credit for having originated the action.
7. Aside from the three communications channels mentioned above is the channel between the Soviet advisors in the Ministry of Public Security and Moscow. The USSR has access to all information concerning Poland, and is in the position to influence any phase of life in Poland. Polish military affairs are directed by the Soviet officers on "loan" to Poland.

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